

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 SCI-06 FEA-02 AID-20 COME-00 EB-11

FRB-02 TRSE-00 XMB-07 OPIC-12 CIEP-02 LAB-06 SIL-01

OMB-01 DRC-01 /195 W

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R 250840Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8022

INFO AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBAAEY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

CINCPAC

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 3174

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, IR, IZ, PK, IN, LY, UN

SUBJECT: TOUR D'HORIZON WITH NAIM

SUMMARY: DURING A LONG CONVERSATION ON MAY 23, PRESIDENT DAOUD'S BROTHER NAIM AND I DISCUSSED HIS RECENT TRAVELS AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION. AS USUAL, NAIM SPOLE WITH MODERATION AND THOUGHTWULNESS. INTERESTINGLY THERE WAS ONLY PASSING REFERENCE TO PUSHTUNISTAN, ALTHOUGH CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF INDIA'S NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. THE SHAH'S INFLUENCE ON NAIM'S THINKING SHOWED A COUPLE OF TIMES.

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1. AT HIS REQUEST, I CALLED MAY 23 ON DAOUD'S BROTHER AND CHIEF FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR NAIM. WE HAD A LONG TOUR D'HORIZON IN A CORDIAL AND FRANK ATMOSPHERE. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDULLAH WAS ALSO PRESENT. HIGHLIGHTS ARE AS FOLLOWS.

2. AFGHAN-US RELATIONS. TWO OR THREE TIMES DURING THE CONVERSATION NAIM STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN OF A STRONG AND VISIBLE AMERICAN PRESENCE. AT ONE POINT, HE SAID THIS IS AN "IMPERATIVE" FOR AFGHANISTAN. I TOLD HIM THAT, WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, OUR NEW LEGISLATION AND HIS NEW GOVERNMENT HAD CAUSED BOTH OF US TO REVIEW OUR MUTUAL PROGRAMS BUT THAT THIS REJEW WAS COMING TO A CONCLUSION. HOPEFULLY, I SAID, WE WOULD BE EMBARKING ON NEW PROJECTS, MUTUALLY AGREED UPON, IN THE NEAR FUTURE. I ADDED, BECAUSE THE IMPORT OF HIS REMARKS WAS POLITICAL AND NOT JUST ECONOMIC, THAT I WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS HE MIGHT HAVE AS TO HOW THE UNITED STATES COULD DEMONSTRATE HOW INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN. I ASSURED HIM THAT I WOULD BE EXERCISING MY IMAGINATION IN THIS REGARD AND REFERRED TO THE RECENT HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL VISIT OF NOBEL LAUREATE NORMAN BORLAUG. NAIM SAID THAT AS HE IS NOT IN THE GOVERNMENT HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO MAKE SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS TO ME.

3. AFGHAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS. NAIM SAID THAT THE SHAH HAD TOLD HIM THAT AFGHANISTAN'S AND IRAN'S SECURITY WERE INEXTRICABLY LINKED. I EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT THE STRENGTHENING OF AFGHAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS.

4. IRAN-IRAQ. FOLLOWING HIS RECENT VISITS TO BAGHDAD AND TEHRAN, NAIM BELIEVES THAT THERE IS REASON FOR HOPING FOR A SETTLEMENT OF IRAQI-IRANIAN PROBLEMS IN THE REASONABLY NEAR FUTURE. HE IMPLIED THAT THE IRAQIS HAVE COME TO SEE THEIR POSITION CONCERNING THE SHATT IS INDEFENSIBLE. HE THINKS THE OTHER BORDER ISSUES CAN BE EVEN MORE EASILY RESOLVED AND THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THESE QUESTIONS SETTLED.

5. ARAB-ISRAEL. HE WAS MUCH IMPRESSED ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO ARAB COUNTRIES BY THE FAITH SADAT AND OTHER, UNNAMED ARAB LEADERS HAVE IN THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS. HE GREATLY ADMIRES

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SADAT'S COURAGE. BUT HE SAID MANY ARABS WITH WHOM HE SPOKE EITHER THEMSELVES OR REFLECTING THE OPINIONS OF OTHERS MADE HIM REALIZE THAT FAITH IN AMERICAN EFFORTS COULD BE SUSTAINED ONLY BY FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT. HE UNDERSTANDS AND COMMENDS OUR STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH.

6. LIBYA. ON HIS RECENT TRIP THERE, HE FOUND LIBYAN LEADERSHIP IRRESPONSIBLE. HE ASKED ME IF I COULD SOON GIVE HIM A BRIEFING ON OUR VIEW OF LIBYA. I TOLD HIM I WOULD SEEK

SUCH AS ASSESSMENT FROM WASHINGTON. COMMENT: NAIM'S INTEREST IN LIBYA NO DOUBT STEMS NOT ONLY FROM HIS VISIT TO TRIPOLI BUT ALSO FROM WHATEVER THE SHAH HAS TOLD HIM ABOUT BHUTTO'S FLIRTATION WITH THE LIBYANS. I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A BRIEF WHICH I COULD PASS ON TO HICB.

7. SPECIAL UNGA. REFERENCE TO HIS VISIT TO ALGIERS AND BOUMEDIENNE'S PREOCCUPATION AT THAT TIME WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED SPECIAL UNGA LED ME TO SUMMARIZE FOR NAIM OUR VIEW OF THAT EVENT AS SET FORTH IN STATE 104050. WE HAD QUITE A LONG TALK ABOUT THE UN, WITH NAIM CONCLUDING THAT IT WAS NOT AN ORGANIZATION THAT HAS MUCH PRACTICAL EFFECT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WORLD BECAUSE IT IS SO OFTEN USED AS A PROPAGANDA FORUM. NEVERTHELESS HE THOUGHT THE ACTIONS OF THE POORER NATIONS AT THE RECENT UNGA REFLECTED THEIR GENUINE UNHAPPINESS WITH THE AID AND TRADE POLICIES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. HE HAD

ABSORBED THE SHAH'S VIEWPOINT THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS SHOULD NOT COMPLAIN ABOUT THE PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS WHEN THE PRICES OF THEIR INDUSTRIAL EXPORTS WERE SKYROCKETING. HE NEVERTHELESS GRANTED ME A POINT WHEN I SAID THE LDC'S SHOULD BE SOMEWHAT MORE SENSITIVE TO THE ATTITUDE OF OTHERS, FOR EXAMPLE WITH RESPECT TO THE TREATMENT OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

8. CHINA, IDBQA, PAKISTAN AND INDIA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. NAIM SEES THE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION IN THE CONTEXT OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS AND IS PUZZLED AS TO WHY THE CHINESE SEEM UNWILLING TO SEEK RAPPROACHMENT WITH THE INDIANS. IN ANSWER TO HIS QUWEY ABOUT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INDIAN NUKE, I FOLLOWED THE GUIDANCE IN STATE 104770, INCLUDING PER PARA 2 OF THAT INSTRUCTION, MENTION OF OUR DESIRE THAT THE

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IMPROVEMENT IN INDO-PAK AND INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS CONTINUE. NAIM NOTED THAT BHUTTO'S REACTION TO THE INDIAN NUKE HAD BEEN VERY STRONG AND SAID THAT BHUTTO SHOULD NOT BE SO SELF-RIGHTEOUS IN THE LIGHT OF CHINESE SUPPORT DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO PEKING, OF THE PAKISTANI POSITION CONCERNING KASHMIR. I COMMENTED THAT BHUTTO'S REACTION, AS THE LEADER OF A NATION THAT HAD FOUGHT TWO WARS WITH INDIA IN TEN YEARS, WAS HARDLY SURPRISING. WHILE HALFWAY CONCEDING THAT POINT, NAIM SAID THAT INDIA'S NUCLEAR CAPABILITY IS REALLY MEANINGLESS BECAUSE IT HAS NO PRACTICAL MILITARY APPLICATIONS. IN SHORT, PAKISTAN'S FEARS ARE GROUNDLESS. AND BHUTTO HAS ONLY HIMSELF TO BLAME, AS A RESULT OF HIS PEKING MISSION, IF INDO-PAK RAPPROACHMENT SHOULD FALTER.

9. PUSHTUNISTAN. INTERESTINGLY, NAIM MADE ONLY ONE PASSING

REFERENCE TO AFGHAN-PAL RELATIONS, RPEATING HIS STANDARD
POSITION THAT IF BHUTTO COULD COME TO TERMS WITH THE PUSHTUNS
AND BALUCHIS IN PAKISTAN, THERE WOULD BE NO PROBLEMS.
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